

THE A BOLITIONIST.

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[NO. VII.

PROGRESS OF PREJUDICE AND PERSECUTION.

A law, the substance of which we give below, was passed by the legislature of Connecticut at its late session and approved by the governor May 24, 1833. This statute is entitled '*An Act in addition to an Act for the Admission and Settlement of Inhabitants in Towns.*' The preamble recites that 'attempts have been made to establish literary institutions in this State for the instruction of colored persons belonging to other States and countries, which would tend to the great increase of the colored population of the State, and thereby to the injury of the people,' and therefore enacts in the first section 'that no person shall establish in this State any school, or literary institution for the instruction or education of colored persons, who are not inhabitants of this State, nor instruct in any school, or other literary institution whatsoever in this State, or harbor or board for the purpose of attending or being instructed in any such school, or literary institution any colored person who is not an inhabitant of any town in this State, without the consent in writing first obtained of a majority of the civil authority, and also of the Selectmen of the town in which such school, or literary institution is situated; and every person who shall knowingly do any act forbidden as aforesaid, or shall be aiding therein, shall, for the first offence, forfeit and pay to the treasurer of this State a fine of one hundred dollars, and for the second offence, a fine of two hundred dollars, and so double for every offence of which he or she shall be convicted.'

'Provided that nothing in this act shall extend to any district school established in any school society under the laws of this State, or to any school established by any school society under the laws of this State, or to any incorporated academy or incorporated school for instruction in this State.'

The second section provides 'that any colored person not an inhabitant of this State,

who shall reside in any town therein for the purpose of being instructed as aforesaid, may be removed in the manner prescribed in the sixth and seventh sections of the act to which this is an addition.'

The third section merely provides for persons who are not inhabitants of the State, but residents for the purpose of being instructed, being witnesses in cases of prosecution under the act.

The fourth section enacts, 'that so much of the seventh section of the act to which this is an addition, as may provide for the infliction of corporeal punishment, be and the same is hereby repealed.'

Our readers will at once perceive that this statute was enacted as a sequel to the Canterbury farce. It is hardly necessary to mention that Andrew T. Judson, the great Canterbury agitator was the prime mover of this act.

We confess that we were surprised at the passage of a statute so inhuman and so disgraceful to the State of Connecticut. It is not, perhaps, to be regretted on account of the colored people at whom it is aimed. The excess of its malice and violence must, we think, render it impotent, and at the same time call forth the feelings of many benevolent minds in favor of the intended victims of this legislation.

We could hardly credit our senses when we read this barbarous statute. Can the legislators of Connecticut seriously believe that colored persons are made worse by instruction? Or do they fear that all the institutions of their State are to be swept away by an irruption of colored Vandals, if a school for young colored girls be tolerated for a moment.

We rejoice in believing that this petty ebullition of prejudice is likely to be totally harmless as it regards the colored citizens of the other States. The constitution of the United States provides that 'the citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several

States. The meaning of this clause is sufficiently clear; and its application to the Connecticut statute very obvious. A colored citizen of Massachusetts or any other State going into Connecticut is entitled to all the privileges and immunities of a citizen of Connecticut. If then it is not a penal offence for a citizen of Connecticut to reside in any town in that State for the purpose of being instructed, it cannot be made a penal offence for a citizen of Massachusetts to commit the same act. When the legislature of Connecticut shall make it criminal for her own citizens to be instructed, it may also make it penal for the citizens of other states coming within her borders, to receive instruction; and not before.

It gives us great pleasure to say that Miss Crandall's school has not as yet been put down. It appears from a communication from Mr. George W. Benson, in the *Liberator*, of June 15th, that she has eighteen or twenty scholars. We understand that she is prepared to contest the constitutionality of the Connecticut statute, whenever she has an opportunity.

SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES.

In our last number we gave some extracts from Mr. Stuart's *Three Years in America*. The following passages are from the same work. Mr. Stuart's observations on slavery in this country deserve attention, because he is evidently a man of great fairness and candor. If his work shows any marks of partiality, they are in favor of the United States. What he says upon this subject, therefore, must be regarded as the reproof of a friend, not as the attack of an enemy.

'A pamphlet was lately published by a free man of color, at Boston, named Walker, expatiating on the cruelty of the treatment to which men of color were subjected in many of the States, which has excited great indignation in the southern slaveholding states;—and it so happened that upon the very day on which I attended the sitting of the legislature at Richmond, a letter from the mayor of Boston, in answer to a communication from the slaveholding states, declaring his disapprobation of the pamphlet, but at the same time expressing his opinion, that the writer did not seem to have violated the law, was laid before the house. Mr. Otis, the mayor of Boston, while in that letter he makes a declaration that the pamphlet does not contravene any law, with singular inconsistency adds, in his public letter, that he regards it with deep disapprobation and abhorrence. This seemed a strange communication from a magistrate in a non-

slaveholding state. A bill was immediately brought into the House of Delegates here, which from its title, 'To prevent the circulation of seditious writings,' I should rather have expected to be proposed in some other country than this. The fate of this bill I never knew.

'I was anxious to see the anti-slavery pamphlet, which was making so much noise, and went into a bookseller's store of the name of Scaraway, or some such name, as I think, but I found his prejudices were as strong as those of any of his countrymen. 'Any man that would sell it should (he said) be gibbeted.'

'The effects of slavery are nowhere more visible than in Virginia; the population not having increased like that of the free states of the north. In 1790, Virginia contained in her boundaries one-fifth part of the whole political power of the American confederation, was twice as large as New-York, and one-third larger than Pennsylvania;—but times are changed. Her political weight will be just one-half of that of New-York in the Congress under the new census, and one-third less than that of Pennsylvania;—she will have to rank with Ohio,—a state that was not in existence when she was in the zenith of her prosperity.—Vol. ii. pp. 54, 55.

'We were ferried over the Roanoke river in a flat, drawing not six inches of water, by slaves, without the horses being taken out of the stage, and afterward stopped at Halifax to change horses. While I was sitting in the portico there, for the day was very hot, I was accosted by a gentleman who requested me to let him know what was the number of slaves for sale at the court-house to-day. I explained his mistake to him, and I then asked him some questions with respect to the slave-market here. He said the price generally given for a young man was 375 dollars, though for the best hands 400 dollars are sometimes given; that 250 dollars was the price for a fine young woman, until after she had her first child, after which she becomes more valuable, as she was then more to be depended on for increasing the stock. He never, he said, separated husband and wife, but some people did separate them, as well as children, and then they had a crying scene, that was all.'—Vol. ii. p. 56.

'I have already mentioned that all the waiters in the hotels where I lodged were slaves, but they were not positively ill treated, like the unfortunate creatures at Charleston. They had no beds, however, to sleep upon,—all lying, like dogs, in the passages of the house. Their punishment was committed by Mr. Lavand to Mr. Smith, the clerk of the house, who told me that no evening passed on which he had not to give some of them stripes; and on many occasions to such an extent, that he was unable to perform the duty, and sent the unhappy creatures to the prison, that they might

have their punishment inflicted there by the jailor. Nothing is more common, than for the masters and mistresses of slaves, either male or female, when they wish them to be punished, to send them to the prison, with a note to the jailer specifying the number of lashes to be inflicted. The slave must carry back a note to his master, telling him that the punishment has been inflicted. If the master so orders it, the slave receives his whipping laid flat upon his face upon the earth, with his hands and feet bound to posts. In passing the prison in the morning the cries of the poor creatures are dreadful. I was anxious to get into the inside of this place, but though a friend applied for me, I did not succeed. Mr. Smith told me that he was very desirous to leave his situation, merely because he felt it so very disagreeable a duty to be obliged to whip the slaves.

‘There were about 1000 slaves for sale at New-Orleans while I was there. Although I did not myself witness, as I had done at Charleston, the master or the mistress of the house treating the slaves with barbarity, yet I heard enough to convince me that at New-Orleans there are many Mrs. Streets. The Duke of Saxe Weimar, who was at New-Orleans in 1826, and who lodged in the boarding house of the well-known Madame Herries, one of the best boarding-houses at New-Orleans, has given a detailed account of the savage conduct of this lady to one of her slaves, which I transcribe in his own words: ‘One particular scene, which roused my indignation in the highest manner, on the 22d March, I cannot suffer to pass in silence. There was a young Virginian female slave in our boarding-house, employed as a chambermaid, a cleanly, attentive, quiet, and very regular individual. A Frenchman residing in the house called in the morning early for water to wash. As the water was not instantly brought to him, he went down the steps and encountered the poor girl, who just then had some other occupation in hand. He struck her immediately with the fist in the face, so that the blood ran from her forehead. The poor creature, roused by this unmerited abuse, put herself on her defence, and caught the Frenchman by the throat. He screamed for help, but no one would interfere. The fellow then ran to his room, gathered his things together, and was about to leave the house. But when our landlady, Madame Herries, was informed of this, in order to satisfy the wretch, she disgraced herself by having twenty-six lashes inflicted upon the poor girl with a cow-hide, and refined upon her cruelty so much, that she forced the sweetheart of the girl, a young negro slave who waited in the house, to count off the lashes upon her. This Frenchman, a merchant’s clerk from Montpellier, was not satisfied with this: he went to the police, lodged a complaint against the girl, had her arrested by two constables, and whip-

ped again by them in his presence. I regret that I did not take a note of this miscreant’s name, in order that I might give his disgraceful conduct its merited publicity.’

‘The laws respecting slaves are as cruelly strict and tyrannical here as at Charleston, or in Georgia. The state Legislature have now, on the 6th and 17th days of March, passed two acts, not many days before I reached New-Orleans, containing most objectionable provisions.

‘The first act provides, 1st. That whosoever shall write, print, publish, or distribute any thing *having a tendency* to create discontent among the free colored population of this state, or insubordination among the slaves therein, shall, at the discretion of the court, suffer death, or imprisonment at hard labor for life.

‘2d. That whosoever shall use language in any public discourse, from the bar, the bench, the stage, the pulpit, or in any place, or in private discourse or conversation, or shall make use of signs or actions *having a tendency to produce discontent* among the free colored population in this state, or to excite insubordination among the slaves therein, or whosoever shall knowingly be instrumental in bringing into this state any paper, pamphlet, or book, having such tendency as aforesaid, shall, at the discretion of the court, suffer at hard labor not less than three years, nor more than twenty years, or death.

‘3d. That all persons who shall teach, or cause to be taught, any slave in this state to read or write, shall be imprisoned not less than one, nor more than twelve months.

‘The second act provides, 1st. For the expulsion from the state of all free people of color, who came into it subsequently to the year 1807; and then confirms a former law, prohibiting all free persons of color whatever from entering the State of Louisiana.

‘2d. It sentences to imprisonment, or hard labor for life, all free persons of color, who, having come into the state, disobey an order for their departure.

‘3d. It enacts, that if any white person shall be convicted of being the author, printer, or publisher of any written or printed paper within the state, or shall use any language with the intent within the state, or shall use any language with the intent to disturb the peace or security of the same, in relation to the slaves or the people of this state, or to *diminish that respect which is commanded to free people of color for the whites*, such person shall be fined in a sum not less than 300 dollars, nor exceeding 1000 dollars, and imprisoned for a term not less than six months, nor exceeding three years: and that, if any free person of color shall be convicted of such offence, he shall be sentenced to pay a fine not exceeding 1000 dollars, and imprisoned at hard labor for a time not less than three years and

not exceeding five years, and afterward banished for life.

‘And 4th. It enacts, that in all cases it shall be the duty of the attorney-general and the several district attorneys, *under the penalty of removal from office*, to prosecute the said free persons of color for violations of the act, or, whenever they shall be required to prosecute the said free persons of color by any citizen of this state.

‘These acts are signed by Mr. Roman, Speaker of the House of Representatives; by Mr. Smith, President of the Senate; and by Mr. Dupre, Governor of the State of Louisiana, all in March, 1830.

‘Nothing can be more clear than that neither the liberty of the press, nor the liberty of speech, exists in a state or country where such laws are to be found in the statute-book. The following occurrence proves pretty convincingly the truth of this observation. It took place on one of the last days of March, while I was at New-Orleans:—A slave was hung for some trifling offence, but none of the newspapers took the slightest notice of the execution; the editors being naturally afraid that their doing so might be construed into an offence against the laws passed only a few days previously. I only accidentally heard of the execution some days after it happened, and was told there were not thirty persons present at it.

‘What makes the severity of those laws even more galling is, that their retrospective effect forces into banishment many citizens of New-Orleans,—free men of color,—who were among the most conspicuous defenders of the state during the invasion of the British in 1814.

‘The enactment against writings was intended to be enforced against the only liberal paper in New-Orleans, ‘Le Liberal,’ which occasionally inserted articles favorable to the black population.

‘The publication of newspapers is not a thriving speculation in the despotic states of the Union. I view South Carolina, Georgia, and Louisiana decidedly in that light, because in those states the liberty of the press is denied altogether to the colored, and, in a very considerable degree, to the white population. Compare the increase of newspapers in some of the free states with their present condition in the three slaveholding states to which I have alluded, and the result will go far to establish my proposition. Sixty-six newspapers were published in the State of New-York in the year 1810: 211 are now published. Seventy-one newspapers were published in Pennsylvania in 1810: 185 are now published. Fourteen newspapers were published in Ohio in 1810: sixty-six are now published. But in South Carolina ten newspapers were published in 1810, and only sixteen now. Thirteen newspapers were published in Georgia in 1810, and only the same number now. Ten

newspapers were published in Louisiana in 1810, and now *only nine* are published. Louisiana is the only state in which the number of newspapers has decreased during the last twenty years, and yet during that period the population has increased from 20,845 to 215,272, so that while the population is *nine* [ten] times as great as in 1810, the effect of arbitrary laws has been to render the number of newspapers less for 215,000 inhabitants than for 20,000.—Vol. ii. pp. 132, 133, 134, 135.

‘Every thing I saw in my perambulations and rides in the neighborhood of New-Orleans confirmed me in the belief that the slaves, especially the females, are in general cruelly treated in respect to the tasks allotted to them, and the stripes and degradation to which they are subjected. In this warm climate they seldom complain of want of clothing. In most cases it is not so much with the quantity, as with the quality, of their food that they find fault.’—Vol. ii. p. 138.

PROFESSOR WRIGHT.

The abolitionists in Boston have been recently favored by a visit from Professor Wright of the Western Reserve College. During his stay in this place, he delivered several lectures on the subject of slavery, to crowded auditories. We have every reason to believe that these powerful and eloquent addresses produced a very favorable impression for the cause which he espoused.

Mr. Wright also had two public discussions with Robert. S. Finley, Esq. the champion of Colonization Society. The first was held at Park-street Church on Thursday, May 30, on the following propositions, maintained by Professor Wright, and denied by Mr. Finley.

I. The operations and publications of the American Colonization Society tend to increase the prejudice already existing against the people of color.

II. The influence of the colony, as it is at present managed, is injurious to Africa.

The second discussion was held in Bowdoin Street Church, on Friday, May 31, on the following propositions, of which Mr. Wright supported the affirmative, and Mr. Finley the negative.

I. The operations and publications of the Society tend to perpetuate slavery.

II. The only hope of abolishing slavery lies in promulgating the doctrine of IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION.

Both discussions were very animated and were listened to with deep interest. Mr. Wright spoke with great earnestness and maintained his positions by close and logical arguments. Mr. Finley, on the other hand, as we have been informed, for we had only an opportunity of hearing a small part of these

discussions, contented himself, for the most part, with saying such things as would make an agreeable impression on the audience, without caring to defend the points which had been assailed by his adversary. Mr. Finley is apparently a practised speaker. His manner is fluent and familiar, and well calculated to interest a general audience.

The advocates of both parties, in these discussions, we believe claim the victory, for their respective champions. But the friends of slavery and colonization, can hardly deny that some of the most weighty arguments advanced by Mr. Wright, were left unanswered by Mr. Finley.

THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

(Concluded.)

We affirm that our statement of the probable cost of transportation was not, as our friend asserts 'flagrantly *ex parte* and extravagant.' We did not borrow from Mr. Tazewell's report, or adopt his views. This gentleman may or may not be opposed to colonization—but what matters it, if his logic be correct, whether he be friend or foe? Truth is not less truth, because it is told by an enemy. However, we did not reckon from his data, but from those of the Repository. We made our calculation, and stated a much smaller result than Mr. Tazewell did. We said that colonization would cost fifty-four dollars a man and the Repository confirms it. Mr. Tazewell says it will cost a hundred dollars a man. We quoted Mr. Tazewell's report, merely to show that our estimate was not extravagant, and this our moderation, the writer perverts and casts at us as a reproach. We say again, what we proved in our former article, that the Colonization Society has repeatedly held up the deportation of slaves as an inducement to add to their funds, and this being a fact, it is fair to cast the market price of the slaves into the estimate, for the experience of the Society has shewn exclusively that very little is to be hoped from the liberality of the masters. We have given our authority, which is the official organ of the Society, and not Mr. Tazewell, and if the result of our calculation does not please our friend, he ought to complain of the Repository only.

'He divides the whole income of the Society up to 1831, \$145,000, by the number of emigrants carried over, 2,500: and so makes it as clear as a sum in simple division, that each man has cost over fifty dollars. This is calculation again with a vengeance. It establishes—what?—the cost of individual transportation at this time? By no means. &c. &c.'

It is, indeed, calculation with a vengeance, for neither our friend nor the Colonization Society will ever be able to get over it. It is

this, probably, which makes him so angry and abusive. What would he have clearer? What! shall we say that individuals transported cost the people of the United States no more than their passage money? Shall we not cast into the account the sums paid for territory, for rum and gunpowder, to civilize the natives, the salaries of we know not how many agents and sub-agents, the pittance of scribblers who puff the Society in magazines and newspapers, the cost of transporting many emigrants to the sea board, and the aid they receive after they land in Liberia? This would be, to use our candid friend's own words, calculation with a vengeance. We suppose we shall be told next, that a company on the peace establishment (of 50 men) costs but \$250 a month. Surely,—they receive but five dollars each. The pay of the officers, the cost of clothing, arms, equipments, ammunition, rations and barracks, ought doubtless to be left out of the estimate.

We can assure the writer that when the people shall know that they have expended \$145,000 to export free blacks, and that but 2500 have been exported, all his logic will not persuade them that they have not paid over fifty dollars a head—a great deal too dear for the whistle. As such has been the aggregate result of many years' experience, we think it is not very likely that the price of the colonization of a free christian black man will ever materially diminish. We have neither time nor inclination to follow our friend through the former fluctuations of the market, nor is it at all essential. We have proved all we undertook to prove, and that is enough for our humble ambition. As to what is said of the probability that the emigrants will one day defray their own expenses, it is mere speculation, and we decline to notice it farther.

We doubt not that there are more colored persons willing to emigrate than the Colonization Society have means to transport,—but not from any part of the Union where they have freedom of choice. The Society cannot get a man from Massachusetts. Doubtless, in States whence free men are forbidden to emigrate on pain of being sold into perpetual slavery, where they may be apprehended on the mere suspicion of any white vagrant, and sold to pay their jail fees, there must be many who are willing to leave a land where there is neither peace nor justice for them. These, we suppose, are the numerous applicants of whom our friend speaks. We think an apologist for the Colonization Society ought to be ashamed to avow the fact, since he must at the same time acknowledge that if the institution does not use compulsion itself, it abets the compulsion of others. Perhaps, too, we might say that the oppressive laws to which we have alluded would never have been made but for the influence of the Colonization Society. Such is the presumption, we may say,

the conviction of many solid persons. Our people, said the committee of the Maryland Legislature (in substance) shall not emancipate unless they colonize also. Directly after, a law was passed, which operates so hardly on the free colored people, that it seems to have been intended to drive them into the arms of the Colonization Society.

The Society has abolished the slave trade, says our friend, along two hundred and eighty miles of sea coast, whence 5,000 slaves were formerly taken annually. What then—the slaves are still sold, though in another market. We shewed in our first paper that the Society admit that the slave trade has increased constantly ever since they have been in operation. After this, what need to speak of abolishing the trade by the ministry of the Society? We shall here add the opinion of Capt. Morrell, a recent voyager on the coast of Africa, which is all that need farther be said on the subject.

'How,' says this very intelligent writer, 'is this horrible traffic to be finally and totally abolished. The root, the source, the foundation of this evil is in the ignorance and superstition of the negroes themselves. However severe the edicts which nations may pass against the slave trade, they will never deter from engaging in it a certain class of reckless adventurers which are found in every country; whose motto is 'neck or nothing.' They are willing to run the risk of dying the death of pirates in consideration of the immense emolument which attends the successful issue of the perilous enterprise. Like every species of smuggled goods, slaves will always find a ready market, and a price proportionably high to the hazard of introducing them: and so long as a door remains open for disposing of human beings, the progress of reform in this particular will be very slow. *It is of but little use to block up the mouth of the Senegal or any other river in Africa while the whole extent of coast remains open and may be landed on at different seasons of the year. Nothing but a total, unqualified prohibition of this soul-debasing traffic by every power in both hemispheres, particularly by those of South America can afford any rational hope of its final abolition.*'

Captain Morrell does, indeed, speak favorably of Liberia and the Colonization Society a little after, but as what he says is avowedly taken from a newspaper extract, it cannot be considered an offset against his own opinion just above expressed.

Our friend goes on to show that the main object of the Society is as he states by extracts from certain speeches and letters, which go to shew that some good has been done and that the removal of our entire colored population is not contemplated. It seems to us singular, however, that he should avail himself of a kind of evidence which he will not permit us to use. When we quote the works

of any eminent colonizationist as explanatory of the views of the Society, they only express the opinions of an individual; but when he thinks fit to quote Mr Blackford's speech and Mr Early's letter, it is 'to shew that he has not mistaken his own principles for the Society's. He ought to remember that what is sauce for goose is sauce for gander; that what is not sufficient evidence for us is not sufficient evidence for him. We think this unfair practice, though we do not impute an unfair intention to him. Moreover, Mr Blackford is not even a member of the Colonization Society. We know not who Mr Early is.

We never imputed to *all* auxiliary societies the principles of the parent Society, and we believe we have never quoted any thing against the parent Society, which was not expressed by some of its members. If the Auxiliary Society of Fredericksburg do not aim at the removal of the entire colored population, it is to their credit, and proves that they may justly claim an intellectual superiority to the mother institution.

The last of the extracts is an avowal by the National Society that they had done 'all that could reasonably be expected to be done by their instrumentality.' We verily believe it. They have done all that could *reasonably* have been expected of persons of their principles; but not all they contemplated or had repeatedly held up to the people as their design.

The writer shews, plainly, that the Colonization Society is opposed to slavery in the abstract. They say, as we never denied, that slavery is an evil, and that something ought to be done, in a hundred places. But they do not say what shall be done. They say that the question ought not to be agitated, that they have no design to interfere with the rights of slave owners to their property, that 'emancipation without emigration is dreamy madness.' We shewed in our former paper that they do unequivocally, in the most explicit terms, express their disapprobation of emancipation on any terms but emigration, and of all efforts to remove what they acknowledge to be a national curse. They never let slip an opportunity to abuse those who think that the subject should be agitated, and that speedier means than theirs should be employed. We have studied their documents very attentively, and this seems to us to be the synopsis of their doctrine. 'Slavery is a great evil and a fruitful source of crime and oppression. But it would be criminal to attempt to remove it. It is a crime in one man to keep another in bondage. But by ceasing to sin, he would sin yet more. Circumstances have made that which is essentially criminal and vile, innocent and praiseworthy.'

If these are not the views of the Society we are unable to comprehend our mother tongue. Else why so many expressions of disapprobation of slavery and of all attempts

to remove it as are found in all the matter they have printed. The Society blows hot and cold upon the idea of emancipation in the same breath, but unless we are greatly mistaken, the cold greatly exceeds and prevails.

After all, the difference of opinion on this subject between colonizationists and abolitionists (among which last we are proud to be ranked) may be summed up in a few words. The former look on the slaves as property; we look upon them as men. They consider only the rights of the masters; we have regard to the rights of both masters and slaves. This is the true distinction in this matter, and we should be sorry and ashamed if there were not many more points of difference.

We said that the Colonization Society habitually vilify the free blacks, and gave what we thought and think sufficient proof of the charge. Our friend denies it, saying that the Society was and still is a charitable institution, whose prime object was the benefit of the free blacks. At the same time he says that the Society 'have not scrupled to describe the situation of that class in this country in its true light.' We deny that the Society do describe that class in its true light, and whether it does or not, we say that our friend knows nothing of the matter. We believe that he is not acquainted personally with any negro in the world. How then does he pretend to know the moral condition of the whole class? We are better informed in this particular. We know a great many blacks, and consequently esteem many of them. If our friend will take one of our arms, highly as we esteem him, we will give the other to one out of many of our colored friends, and walk through Washington-street between them, feeling equally honored with the company of each.

If the object of the Colonization Society be, as our friend states, for the benefit of the free blacks, it seems to us that these last should by this time have discovered and appreciated the benevolence of the Society. It is not so however. They consider themselves wronged, oppressed and insulted by it, and detest its very name. The name of a colonizationist is to them as that of Benedict Arnold is to their white brethren. They never go to the Colonization Society for advice regarding their affairs, they never ask them for the means of instructing their children in letters and the mechanic arts; on the contrary, they avoid them as they would a pestilence. They apply, on occasion, to the abolitionists. Dogs have the faculty of discovering their friends and enemies. Have the colored race less intelligence than dogs?

The writer admits, and we thank him for the admission, that the blacks themselves ought to be the judges of the colonization project. 'Let the blacks decide the matter for themselves. If they can be comfortable here,

or think they can, let them remain, and God help them to be so.' With this sentiment at heart our friend should never have written a syllable on the Colonization Society. The blacks have decided on the question unequivocally. Their opinion, as expressed by their representatives, is, that those who consent to be colonized, are 'enemies and traitors.' We are aware that our writer affirms that this is but the sentiment of a party; but can he shew any proof that there is a party anywhere among the free blacks who hold a contrary opinion? He cannot. There is no such party in any place where freedom of choice is permitted. Let the blacks themselves be the judges, with all my heart. But let their judgment be free. Where they are liable to be apprehended on the suspicion of the lowest vagabond and sold into slavery, where they are banished at a month's warning from their homes, where their lives are rendered insupportable by the colonization and nullification spirits, it cannot be said that they are free agents, and the fact, that a thousand poor, persecuted colored people have been compelled to be willing to emigrate, is no proof that any, even the most inconsiderable portion of the colored population approve the principles of the Colonization Society.

One more point of our friend's argument remains to be noticed. He treats the idea that his beloved institution holds up contrary motives to the south and north in the same organs, as supremely ridiculous. We cannot see it in the same light. When the idea of the ultimate termination of African slavery is held up by the Society as a motive to contribute to their funds, is not this argument evidently addressed to the north? Would such discourse (alone, without qualification) be palatable to the south? When the Society promise to secure the tenure of *property* by removing the free blacks, is it to the north that they address themselves? Surely the two promises do not coincide with each other. It is the Society, and not us, whom our friend ought to blame for this inconsistency, which, we take it, is indicative of a mean, shuffling policy, which dares to take no decided stand, and which, we trust, will never be imitated by the abolitionists.

In answer to all the sneers cast by our friend at the abolitionists, we say that we took the field one year only since, twelve in number, with a 'quaker and hatter' at our head. We are now a thousand, and every day brings recruits to our ranks. The Colonization Society is the main obstacle in our way, and its course, we think, is and must be henceforth downwards. We found the Leviathan weltering in the sea of popularity, unconscious of a foe, and despising him when he appeared. We roused him from his torpor, and compelled him to give proof of vitality. We have fixed the harpoon, and the monster begins to blow

and bellow. We are now pulling upon the line, and we shall soon, we trust, come to lanc-ing. Above all, we have planted the banner of **FREEDOM TO MANKIND.** Pluck it up who can.

To conclude; for we are in truth very weary of trying to extract argument out of that which contains none—our friend has not disproved one of our positions by logical deduction. He has given us an exposition of the views of the Colonization Society, drawn, not from facts or past experience, but from the stores of his own invention. It is perfectly evident to us that he has not studied the subject, for he has given us his own crude speculations instead of the truth. Were the Colonization Society what he imagines it to be and no more, we would join it to-morrow; but we know and have proved it to be a different thing. When our friend can meet us fairly, we shall ever be ready to splinter a lance with him, but if he does not come into the lists better armed, we shall henceforth think it beneath our magnanimity to contend with one so ill prepared. His views, if we understand them right, are based not on what the Colonization Society is and has been, but on what it may be henceforth. It may, he says, rid the country of the blacks, it may extinguish the system of slavery, it may give the slave taade a death blow, and it may convert and civilize Africa. Ay, it *may*—and the sky *may* fall, and we *may* catch larks. The one proposition is as well supported by experience and analogy as the other.

SLAVERY IN PENNSYLVANIA.

The friends of freedom were somewhat surprised and mortified, at seeing in the Census of 1830, the number of slaves belonging to Pennsylvania set down at 386, when the Census of 1820, had only shown 211 in the State. This unexpected result very properly excited the attention of the State; and at the last session of the legislature a committee was appointed in the Senate to investigate the cause of this apparent increase. Mr. Breck, from the committee, made a report in which the subject is very fully and satisfactorily examined.

His report states that a law was passed in 1780, enacting 'that all persons, as well negroes and mulattoes as others, who shall be born within this state from and after the first day of March, 1780, shall not be deemed and considered as servants for life, or slaves; and that all servitude for life, or slavery of children in consequence of the slavery of their mothers, in the case of all children born within this state from and after the passing of this act, shall be, and hereby is, utterly taken away,

extinguished, and forever abolished; that every negro and mulatto child, born within this state after the passing of this act as aforesaid, shall be deemed to be, and shall be, by virtue of this act, the servant of such person, or his or her assigns, who would, in such case, have been entitled to the service of such child, until such child shall attain unto the age of twenty-eight years.'

The report then proceeds.

'In consequence of this provision for their gradual emancipation, we do not find, by the census of 1820, (forty years after the date of the act,) any person reported to be held in bondage in this commonwealth, under twenty-six, and few under forty-five years of age; and all those who take an interest in the extinguishment of slavery here, very naturally looked to the census of 1830, as the epoch that was to put a period, or nearly so, to that unhappy state of things amongst our colored population. What, then, must have been their astonishment, when the tables of the marshals of the two districts exhibited an increase, from 211 individuals returned in 1820, to 386 returned in 1830! scattered, too, over twenty-seven counties, and of ages under twenty-six, and even under ten! By what process was this brought about? Unless founded in error, it was manifestly a gross violation of the statute of 1780. It is the principal duty of your committee to explain this; and in endeavoring to do so, it will be necessary to advert to a misconstruction of that law in Washington and other counties, by which the child of a servant, until the age of twenty-eight years, was held to servitude for the same period, and on the same conditions as its mother, who was the daughter of a registered slave. This error was practised upon up to the year 1826, and was the means of wrongfully keeping in bondage many individuals, for several years beyond the legal period. At length the Supreme court settled the point definitely, at Pittsburg, on the 26th September, 1826, in the case of *Miller v. Dwilling*, and decided that no child can be held to servitude till the age of twenty-eight years, but one whose mother was a servant for life, or a slave at the time of its birth.

There cannot now, then, be any pretence for keeping children, born in this commonwealth, at service beyond the age of twenty-eight, nor would any such have appeared in the columns of the census of 1830, had not the two marshals, by their injudicious instructions to their deputies, directed them to enter as slaves, all colored people of both sexes, who were held to service for limited periods. These deputies, as is apparent on the face of their reports, have strictly followed those instructions, and returned as slaves, even children under ten years of age, who could not legally be held to service under 21. As well might

those officers have directed their assistants to register as slaves, all white children apprenticed to trades.

This irregularity on the part of the two officers, has been the cause of reporting in 27 counties :

| | |
|-----|----------------------------------|
| 53 | Children under 10 years, |
| 192 | Individuals, aged from 10 to 24, |
| 45 | do from 24 to 36, |
| 29 | do from 36 to 55, |

319

Making an aggregate of 319, of whom only a very few of the last class could possibly be legally held as slaves; because the law of March, 1780, which declares all the children of slaves born in this commonwealth, after that date, free at twenty-eight, could not allow any person under fifty years of age to be held in slavery in 1830. So that very few of the class between thirty-six and fifty-five, which, in that year, contained only twenty-nine individuals, could then be legally held in bondage.

The gradual decrease, at the four first periods at which the people of this nation were numbered, shows that no such ill-judged instructions were then issued by the marshals to their deputies; for,

| | |
|---------|---------------------------|
| In 1790 | 3737 slaves are returned, |
| " 1800 | 1706 " " |
| " 1810 | 795 " " |
| " 1820 | 211 " " |

and had not this palpable mistake been committed in 1830, by which the return is increased one hundred and seventy-five in ten years, we should have had for the true number, *sixty-seven*, instead of three hundred and eighty-six; for these sixty-seven constitute the difference between the whole number returned in the census, and the number reported under fifty-years of age. And this we find confirmed by the return made in the septennial state census, in 1828, when the official computation was only seventy-six.

Your committee may, therefore, safely say, that, at this day, being nearly three years after the national census was taken, there cannot be more than sixty persons held as slaves in the whole commonwealth.

But are there not many colored individuals, not born in Pennsylvania, and not of right classed as slaves, who are held to service for limited periods, even after the age of twenty-eight? In answer to the question, your committee will state such facts as have been communicated to them by persons well acquainted with the subject.

Negroes of all ages are brought, in considerable numbers, into the southwestern counties, bordering on Virginia, and emancipated on condition of serving a certain number of years, seldom exceeding seven, unless they happen to be mere children. About half the usual price of a slave is paid for this limited

assignment; at the expiration of which, the individual obtains entire freedom, both for himself, and such of his children as may be born in Pennsylvania.

In this manner, many colored people, of both sexes, are sent from the adjoining slaveholding states, particularly from the state of Delaware, and manumitted in this commonwealth. Deprived of this privilege, so advantageous, both to the benevolent master, and unhappy bondsman, what alternative remains for the poor slave? None other than endless servitude, either in the place of his nativity, or among the cotton and sugar plantations of the south. Endless servitude, not only for himself, but for his children, from generation to generation.

As a proof that Delaware, and even Maryland, send their slaves here, it may be stated, that in Delaware, the number of slaves has decreased in the last ten years, 1204, and in Maryland, 4520.

Nevertheless, a doubt has arisen, whether it be proper to allow this state of things to continue, or to provide by law against the introduction amongst us of that species of population.

On this subject, your committee beg to remark, that by the last census, our colored inhabitants amounted to about 36,000; of which, 30,000 inhabit the eastern district, and only 6,000 the western; and this number, so small, compared to the white population, is scattered among fifteen hundred thousand of our own color; making one colored individual to forty-two white. So few of these, it is believed, by your committee, need not at present be an object of uneasiness, and would not seem to require the enactment of any restrictive laws; more especially as they are, for the greater part, industrious, peaceable, and useful people. It is enough for us to take care that the children *born* in our own commonwealth be protected against involuntary service, after the age of twenty-one, without preventing the humane or interested owners of slaves, born elsewhere, from manumitting them on our soil; and thus, after a short service, giving liberty to themselves, and those of their children who may be born among us; and who, did not their masters possess this facility, would be held, they and their unhappy offspring in perpetual slavery.

Such a course, then, as would shut the door of philanthropic Pennsylvania to those who, from motives of humanity or interest, may wish to grant manumission to their slaves, could not but be repugnant to the feelings of every citizen within our borders. Believing this, your committee cannot recommend, for the adoption of the Senate, any measure that may tend to disturb the present usage, or that shall deprive a negro or mulatto, born a slave *out* of Pennsylvania, of a chance of obtaining his liberty by a commutation of his personal

services during a brief period in this commonwealth, for those of perpetual bondage elsewhere.

In drawing up this report, our object has been principally directed to the means necessary for an explanation of the causes which led to the erroneous returns of the marshals; and we have, in making the investigation, ascertained them to be, as we think, such as are set forth in the preceding pages, and which we will, in conclusion, briefly recapitulate.

First—The illegal manner in which the grand children of the registered slaves of 1780, were held to service for twenty-eight years, in some parts of Pennsylvania, until the decision of the Supreme court put a stop to it in 1826.

Secondly—The practice, along our southern borders, of buying slaves born out of the state, from persons who manumit them in Pennsylvania.

Thirdly—The mode in which the census was taken, and which classes as slaves, children and others who are only held to service for a comparatively short period; after which they and their offspring born in this state, become free forever.

It will be gratifying to your committee, if they shall have been at all instrumental in removing the imputation to which Pennsylvania seemed obnoxious, by the official act of the two marshals, and thus exonerate her from the stigma of fostering in her bosom, as it would appear by the census, a nursery of slaves. It is an opprobrium that nearly affects the character of the state, and is not the less injurious, because it is undeserved. The honor of our citizens, collectively and individually, is concerned in having it wiped away; and your committee flatter themselves, that by adopting this their investigation, which they respectfully, and with great deference, submit to the Senate, an official denial of the imputation may be considered as flowing from that act of approval and adoption.

The humane and liberal feeling exhibited in this report is highly creditable to the state of Pennsylvania. It presents a remarkable contrast to the proceedings of the Connecticut legislature which we have just noticed. It is gratifying to find one State which is not unwilling to afford an asylum to the oppressed, —one State which does not blindly adopt the common cant of southern feeling and southern prejudice. We recommend the statesman-like views of the imagined danger to Pennsylvania from the influx of colored people, to the consideration of these Connecticut wise-acres, who foresee the impending ruin of their State in the establishment of a school for colored females.

BRITISH OPINIONS OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

A little pamphlet with the above title has just been published by Messrs. Garrison & Knapp. The character of the publication may be judged of from the following advertisement which is prefixed to it.

‘During the past year the character of the American Colonization Society has been a subject of frequent discussion. The interest taken in the question has created a great demand for publications in relation to it. As a proof of this, it may be mentioned that a large edition of ‘*Garrison’s Thoughts on Colonization*’, 2750 copies, was disposed of in the course of nine months.

The interest in the subject has not in any degree abated at the present time. And those who are opposed to the Society have for a long time felt the want of some tract, in which the arguments against the institution should be presented in a form sufficiently cheap to fit it for general circulation. To supply this want is the object of the present publication. A number of pieces have lately appeared in Great Britain in which the pretensions of the Colonization Society are discussed with great candor and ability. The whole of one pamphlet on this subject and parts of others are embraced in the following pages.

Much has been recently written in this country as well as Great Britain, in relation to the Colonization Society, and with great ability. We have chosen to confine our republication to British articles, for several reasons. First, the British pieces have not, and cannot, without re-publication, enjoy so great a circulation among us as the American have already done: and secondly, the Englishmen who write upon this subject, are at a distance from the sources of American prejudices; their opinions, therefore, deserve respect as those of impartial spectators.

We do not offer any remarks in favor of the articles contained in this pamphlet. They will recommend themselves to all who will read them.

The articles now offered to the American public are as follow:

1. The whole of a pamphlet with the following title, ‘*A Letter to Thomas Clarkson by James Cropper; and Prejudice Vincible, or the practicability of conquering Prejudice by better means than by Slavery and Exile; in relation to the American Colonization Society.*’ By C. STUART.’

2. Extracts from a pamphlet entitled, ‘*Facts designed to exhibit the real character and tendency of the American Colonization Society.*’ By CLERICUS.’

3. Extracts from the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.
4. Extract from the *Liverpool Mercury*.

We heartily recommend this pamphlet to all who are desirous of judging fairly of the American Colonization Society.

This tract is published cheap for the purpose of general circulation, being sold at 10 cents single, and \$5 a hundred.

[From the Genius of Universal Emancipation.]

COLORED PEOPLE IN PHILADELPHIA.

'The colored population of Philadelphia have, for a few years past, progressed in the melioration of their moral and physical condition with a rapidity which cannot but be gratifying to the philanthropic. Several libraries have been established, reading rooms opened, and debating societies organized. We have been informed by a gentleman present at the regular meeting of one of their debating clubs, that the discussions were conducted with a degree of spirit and propriety, and displayed a cogency and acuteness of reasoning and an elevation and elegance of language for which he was little prepared. The subjects of discussion generally relate to their own rights and interests, and frequently result in decisions from which the prejudiced mind of the white man would startle with apprehension. A change is rapidly coming over this people. They are now numerous, united, and bitterly conscious of their degradation and their power. To this let the pride, the independence, and ambition which science ever imparts, be added, and the consequences, though beyond the reach of conjecture, would doubtless be such as to involve the character and condition of the whole country.'

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE BRITISH COLONIES.

Mutato nomine de te narratur.

It has for some time past been obvious to all careful observers, that British Colonial Slavery was rapidly approaching its termination. Every day's intelligence received from Britain affords fresh proof that Parliament will soon adopt some decisive measure in relation to this great subject.

On the 24th of May, 1832, a select committee of the House of Commons was 'appointed to consider and report upon the measures which it might be expedient to adopt for the purpose of effecting the extinction of slavery throughout the British Dominions at the earliest period compatible with the safety of all classes in the colonies, and in conformity with the resolutions of this House, of the 15th of May, 1823.'

In pursuance of this resolution, a committee of twenty-five persons was appointed, embrac-

ing some of the most distinguished members of the House.

The committee, as we learn from the Anti-Slavery Reporter, commenced its sittings on the 6th of June, and closed them on the 11th of August, on which day they made a report to the House, embracing the minutes of the evidence taken before them. These minutes extend to 655 closely printed folio pages, and are contained in a volume which was ordered to be printed, August 11, 1832.

The account of this interesting report, will be borrowed entirely from the Anti-Slavery Reporter, for we have not seen the report itself.

In their report the Committee say.

'In the consideration of a question involving so many difficulties of a conflicting nature, and branching into subjects so various and complicated, it appeared necessary to your Committee, by agreement, to limit their direct enquiries to certain heads.

'It was therefore settled that two main points arising out of the terms of reference should be first investigated, and these were embraced in the two following propositions:—

'1st. That the slaves, if emancipated, would maintain themselves, would be industrious, and disposed to acquire property by labor.

'2d. That the dangers of convulsion are greater from freedom withheld, than from freedom granted to the slaves.

'Evidence was first called to prove the affirmative of these propositions, and had been carried on, in this direction, to a considerable extent; and was not exhausted, when it was evident the session was drawing to a close; and that this most important and extensive enquiry could not be satisfactorily finished. At the same time your Committee was unwilling to take an *ex parte* view of the case. It was therefore decided to let in evidence of an opposite nature, intended to disprove the two propositions, and to rebut the testimony adduced in their support. Even this limited examination has not been fully accomplished, and your Committee is compelled to close its labors in an abrupt and unfinished state.'

'On the affirmative side of the question, as to the expediency of an immediate or early extinction of slavery,' we learn from the Anti-Slavery Reporter, that twelve witnesses were examined, and on the other side twenty-one.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter says,

'It will appear from the report of the Committee that the main points of their enquiry were embraced by the two following propositions, including, in fact, all that Mr. Buxton, in moving for that Committee, had pledged himself, or even thought it necessary to attempt to prove, viz:—

1. THAT THE SLAVES, IF EMANCIPATED, WILL ADEQUATELY MAINTAIN THEMSELVES BY THEIR OWN LABOR; and 2nd. THAT THE DANGER OF WITHHOLDING FREEDOM FROM THE SLAVES IS GREATER THAN THAT OF GRANTING IT.

'These two propositions, we conceive, the evidence before us has most irrefragably and triumphantly established; and the controversy, therefore, as respects the expediency of an early emancipation, may be considered as decided. The justice and humanity of such a measure has long ceased to be a question.'

We shall extract some of the evidence as it appears in the Reporter. The following passages are from the evidence of Wm. Taylor, Esq., a gentleman who had resided 13 years in Jamaica.

'The younger Negroes on Mr. Wildman's estates had never received any instruction prior to his visiting Jamaica for the first time in 1826. This was done in consequence of the express injunctions of Mr. Wildman himself. The adults now receive no education whatever. As to the capacity of the slaves for receiving instruction, they were much like other human beings; some were apt, and others very stupid, and some remarkably acute. He could not say they were equally apt with the Scottish peasantry; but their circumstances were disadvantageous in a peculiar degree, and in spite of these he had seen, in a multitude of instances, a wonderful aptness for instruction. There appeared in them no natural incapacity whatever for instruction. He had been struck with the retentiveness and minuteness of their memories, and especially in the children.'

'With respect to the provident or improvident use of money, he thought them pretty much like the peasantry of other countries, but considerably less given to intoxication than the peasantry of Scotland, and infinitely less than the soldiery who go out to the colonies, the mortality among whom is attributed to their fondness for spirits. There were on the estates some Negroes who would not touch spirits, while others were incorrigible drunkards. Any money he paid the Negroes at any time for wages was generally expended in the purchase of food.'

'He had never known an instance of a free black taking the hoe, and working in the field with the gang, or in the boiling house; but he had known slaves to work for wages in their extra time on sugar estates. Soon after he took charge of Papine, a long line of fence was to be made between that and the Duke of Buckingham's estate, formed by a trench of four feet deep, with mound thrown up. It is usual to do such labor by task work, at so many feet a day. The laborers complained that they could not perform it in the usual

hours of labor. The overseer on the other hand affirmed that they were imposing upon me, and it was solely owing to sloth that they did not easily get through their task. The overseer wished of course to get as much work as he could, and *they* had naturally an indisposition to do more than they could help. They were told to resume their work the following morning, and, if they performed it within the time, they should be paid for every minute's or hour's additional work they might perform. They began the task at five in the morning, and had finished it by half-past one, and the very slaves who had before complained, received pay for four hours' extra labor.'

'Mr. Taylor, being asked whether the stimulus of the whip, at present the only stimulus, being withdrawn, and the Negro made free, he thought he would be likely to work industriously for adequate wages, replied that, if the Negro is placed in a situation where he must starve or work, he would work. If in the present state of things he were to be told, Keep your provision ground, and keep your house, and come and work for a shilling or other sum a day, he would say, I will not do it; for I can make more by working my grounds. But if the grounds were taken away, and he must understand that he must starve or work, he would work. The consideration by which in the case of freemen the matter would be governed would be this, whether it were most profitable to receive wages, or to rent land and raise produce upon it. If put into a situation where the fear of want would bear upon him, and the inducement to work was plain, then he would work. He drew this opinion partly from his knowledge of emancipated slaves, but chiefly from his knowledge of the slaves under his own care, among whom the good preponderated far above the bad. He found them like the Scottish peasantry, fulfilling all the relations of life. He found them revering the ordinance of marriage. He found them, particularly on the Vere estate, an orderly and industrious people; and he was strongly impressed with the opinion that, if placed in the circumstances of the English and Scottish peasantry, they would act similarly. They were, generally speaking, very industrious in laboring on their provision grounds. It was a frequent practice to work for one another for hire, the hire being 20*d.* currency a day (14*d.* sterling,) and a breakfast. Mr. Wildman indulged his Negroes with fifty-two Saturdays in the year, instead of twenty-six, the number allowed them by law, that they might be able to attend divine service, and have no excuse for continuing to work on Sunday. This gave them additional time; and as Mr. T. had a large garden, and was very unwilling to draw from the labor of the estate to keep it in order, he was frequently in the habit of hiring them to work there. Some would come and offer their services, for

which he gave them their breakfast and 2s. 11d. a day currency, being 2s. 1d. sterling. He was decidedly of opinion that, when an offer was made to pay Negroes for their labor, they were always ready to work. He had known them, even when digging cane-holes, perform the task of 120 cane-holes, and, on being offered pay, dig 20 and 40 cane-holes, after having finished their task. But, by the ordinary method, the same quantity would not have been dug except by tremendous whipping. Ninety cane-holes indeed on unploughed land was the general task; but 120 if the land had previously been loosened by the plough. The farther exertion, however, produced by the stimulus of wages was such that the driver said it was too much for them, and begged Mr. Taylor to interdict their doing so much. At the end of the week almost every slave had done so much extra work as to receive 3s. 4d., which he paid them, according to agreement. If they had worked in the usual way under the whip they might have finished 120 holes in the course of the day, barely completing it at the end of the day; but if told that, if they did the same work, they might as soon as it was done go away, they would, by abridging their intervals of rest, finish it before three o'clock in the afternoon, beginning at five in the morning.'

'In general he found them willing to work in their extra time, for hire; he spoke only of Mr. Wildman's slaves. Task work indeed was very generally resorted to, planters thinking that in that way the Negro did his work in a much shorter time. At the same time he was convinced that a mixed system of slavery with its unavoidable expences, and free labor with its wages, would not answer in the long run. He conscientiously believed that if slavery were put an end to, and the slaves emancipated, it would answer to the proprietor. He admitted that if a herald were at once to proclaim freedom in Spanish Town, in unqualified terms, to all slaves, anarchy and confusion might be the result. But, by proceeding cautiously, and previously providing the means of restraint, and, above all, by making it known to the slave that it was the King's pleasure that he should still labor when he became free, and if the planters concurred in using this language, so as to remove all idea that the King and his master were at variance, the freedom of the slaves might be safely, and easily, and even profitably accomplished.'

'The desire of freedom was very prevalent among domestics as well as field slaves. He had known persons, especially in sickness and old age, indifferent to freedom, and the head man on an estate may be indifferent to it, but that is not the case generally. He could point out a head-driver, living on an estate where his privileges and means of acquiring property were great, and who, considering freedom as the being turned out upon the open Savan-

nah, said he would rather forego his freedom. Most of the cases of manumission he had known were among domestic slaves, and among them also most of the applications for manumission occurred; but he does not know that this is owing to a more intense desire of, but simply to greater facilities of acquiring, freedom; they therefore aim at it; but generally throughout the island, the slaves of all classes are anxious to obtain their liberty.'

'He could not even call to mind one instance of a slave having had his freedom offered and refusing it, but he could call to mind almost hundreds of instances where pressing applications had been made for freedom by slaves, with applications to himself for money to enable them to buy it.'

'Whenever they could contrive by task-work, or other arrangements, to obtain any extra time, their grounds were crowded with them, laboring for their own benefit. They cannot, therefore, be said to be an indolent race, or incapable of being actuated by the motives by which labor is generally prompted. His own experience assured him of the contrary. He admitted that the propensity of the Negro, as of all men in warm climates, was to indolence; but, whenever the hope of pecuniary advantage could be brought to bear on this indolence, it was powerfully counteracted. He was well acquainted with the inhabitants of Scotland, and he had never known an intelligent and well-instructed Scotchman who would work hard without an inducement; but, for the same motive of personal advantage, the Negro might most decidedly be induced to work to an immense extent. Having tried the experiment of voluntary labor for wages in his own garden, the man who most frequently applied for employment was the most idle and worthless man on the estate. The steady Negroes were far less willing to work in his garden, having large and well cultivated grounds of their own; while this fellow had neglected his ground and had therefore no temptation to go to it, and was glad therefore to be employed in the garden, or he would collect a little fruit, or procure some billets of wood, and carry them to Kingston market, converting them into cash. This man, more frequently than any other, came to work in the garden the whole day till four o'clock, and he then took his 2s. 11d. of hire and proceeded to Kingston to convert the money into comforts; while the other Negroes were unwilling to do so, it being more profitable to go to their own grounds—thus decidedly showing their judgment in discriminating as to the kind of labor that would reward them best and selecting that. In fact the negroes are far from being the rude uncultivated barbarians they are sometimes represented to be. The estimate in this country of their character is a great deal too low. He himself had no notion of it till he was called to manage those es-

tates ; and he had been ten years in the island and was still in great ignorance of the agricultural laborers in Jamaica ; and he then found that far too low an opinion had been formed (and this he declared to many in Jamaica) of their state of civilization. The Negroes who worked in his garden worked diligently, because he discharged them if they did not. The idle man, who was the chief laborer, was well watched by the gardener, and if slothful was sent away. The fear of this operated to produce application as the fear of the whip did in the field. Working in his garden was however less hard than digging cane-holes.'

Mr. Taylor's views in regard to emancipation, appear in a paper which he wrote some years ago for the information, and which was exhibited to him during his examination. It is as follows :

'First let emancipation, and strict police arrangements, be contemporaneous. Ample materials would be found for a police corps in the colored class, whose services could be had at a low rate of charge. Avoid paying the emancipated Negroes by means of allotments of land, as those would detach them from regular daily labor ; but pay them in money. At first there would be difficulties, but gradually the equitable price of labor would be ascertained, and act as the produce of regular labor. A stipendiary magistracy would be necessary, because the peculiar prejudices of the present magistracy generally unfit them for the office. The island would have to be divided into districts, each possessing a certain portion of the constabulary force, with a stipendiary magistrate, and a house of correction or other penitentiary. Were the island thus divided, and the police and magistrates properly organized, I firmly believe that emancipation might take place with perfect security. Of course there would be difficulties, obstacles, and disappointments, in carrying into effect the detail of the system of emancipation ; but if Government would address themselves actually to the work, telling the planters on the one hand that such is their determination, and the Negroes on the other that while they aim at instituting equal laws, and securing them their civil and religious liberty, they by no means design that idleness should be at their option,—I am convinced that the result would be as beneficial, in a pecuniary way, to the planter, as it would be elevating and humanizing morally to the present degraded slave. The present system is incurable ; it will not modify : it must be utterly destroyed. My experience, as a planter, assures me that to attempt to ingraft religion and humanity upon slavery, with the hope of profitable results, is a vain and fruitless endeavor. A religious man is a most unfit person to manage a slave estate. The fact is, cruelty is the main spring

of the present system. As long as slavery exists, and the whip is the compeller of labor, it is folly to talk of humanity. Legitimate motives are taken away, and coercion becomes the spring of industry ; and in proportion to the application of this, that is, coercion, is the effect on labor. The Negro character has been much underrated, even, I think, by the Negro's friends. When justice is done to him, even in his present degraded circumstances, he shows a sagacity and shrewdness, and a disposition to a regular social life, which emphatically prove that he only requires freedom secured to him by law to make him a useful, and, in his situation, an honorable member of the human family.' Mr. Taylor added that he firmly believed all that he had stated in this paper to be true. It had been privately written, and he never expected to see it again, but he perfectly agreed now in every sentiment it contained.'

We regret that our limits will not permit us to make any farther extracts from this interesting report.

The proceedings of the British government have recently exhibited a fixed determination to bring the system of colonial slavery to a termination.

The following is an outline of a bill which the ministry have laid before Parliament. We copy from the *Boston Daily Advertiser*.

'The plan devised by the British ministry for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies is given in the London Courier of the 11th. The following is a view of the leading features.—Every slave is to be at liberty to claim to be registered as an apprenticed laborer. According to the terms of this apprenticeship, the power of corporeal punishment is to be transferred from the master to a magistrate. In consideration of food and clothing, and other usual allowances, the laborer is to work for the master three fourths of his time, and may claim employment from him, at a fixed rate of wages, for the remaining fourth, or may employ himself elsewhere. At the time of the apprenticeship, a price is to be fixed upon the laborer, and the wages are to bear such a proportion to that price, that the laborer, if his whole spare time be given to his master, will receive one twelfth part of that price annually, and in the same proportion for a smaller term. On becoming an apprentice, the negro is to be entitled to a weekly money payment, if he shall prefer it, instead of food and clothing. Each of them is required to pay half yearly a portion of his wages, the rate of which is to be fixed, to an officer appointed by the King : and in default of such payment, the master is to be liable, and may in return, exact an equivalent amount of labor without payment in the succeeding half year. On payment of the price fixed, each apprenticed negro is to be

absolutely free. He may borrow the sum required for this payment, and bind himself as an apprentice to the lender for a limited period. A loan, to the amount of £15,000,000 sterling, is to be granted to the proprietors of West Indian estates and slaves, to be distributed among the different colonies according to the number of their slaves, and the amount of their exports. The half yearly payments abovementioned are to be applied in liquidation of the debt thus contracted by the planter to the public. All children, under the age of six years at the time of the passing of the act, are to be free, and are to be maintained by their parents: but, on failure of such maintenance, may be apprenticed without receiving wages to the master of the parents, the males till the age of 24, and the females till the age of 20, when they and their children are to be absolutely free. The bill farther provides, that nothing contained in it shall prevent the King from assenting to such acts as may be passed by the Colonial Legislatures for the promotion of industry or the prevention of vagrancy, applicable to all classes; and that, on the recommendation of these Legislatures, aid may be granted out of the revenue of Great Britain, for the purpose of justice, police and education.'

The details of the foregoing plan are not all of them quite intelligible. As far as we can understand them, though the proposed measure is far from doing complete justice to the slave, it is yet immeasurably in advance of the present system, and will be hailed with joy by all the friends of emancipation.

'THE SLAVE TRADE AT RICHMOND.'

It is perhaps not an uncommon thing for the Richmond Enquirer to publish such advertisements as that which follows, and which is taken, as will be seen by its date, from a recent number of that paper. It so happens, however, that our eye has not before been caught by any such; nor even now, but for the words at the head of this paragraph, which form the pith of the advertisement, would it probably have attracted attention. But when all parties and all right thinking individuals in this country, and the law of the land, agree in considering the foreign slave trade as felony of the worst sort, it does startle one not a little, to find, in the capital of Virginia a man thus advertising himself as carrying on a Slave Trade, not less objectionable on principle, and ostentatiously setting forth to 'gentlemen' the facilities, the accommodation, and the comfort, (the 'jail attached' constituting, we presume, a part of the comfort) with which he can carry on the nefarious traffic. Surely, public sentiment, in such a civilized community as Richmond, must be outraged by such an open display of the evils incident to slave-

ry, and which even those who profit by it must feel to be unfit, most unfit to be blazoned forth in the face of a free and christian community.—*Journal of Commerce.*

'NOTICE.—This is to inform my former acquaintances and the public generally, that I yet continue in the Slave Trade at Richmond, Virginia; and will at all times give a fair and market price for young Negroes. I live on Shockoe Hill, near the Poor-house, where application is desired to be made. Persons in this State, Maryland or North Carolina wishing to sell lots of Negroes, are particularly requested to forward their wishes to me by mail at this place; and also, persons living near Richmond, having one or more for sale, will please inform me of the same, which will be immediately attended to. Persons wishing to purchase lots of Negroes are requested to give me a call, as I keep constantly on hand at this place a great many for sale, and have at this time the use of one hundred likely young Negroes, consisting of boys, young men, and girls; among which are several very valuable house servants of both sexes, and I will sell at all times at a small advance on cost, in lots to suit purchasers. Persons from the southern states wanting to buy a choice lot of slaves, will do well to call on me, as I shall be able to furnish them at any time; and gentlemen in the south or elsewhere, who may wish to communicate on this subject are respectfully requested to forward their letters to me at Richmond, which will be duly attended to. I have comfortable rooms, with a jail attached for the reception of Negroes; and persons coming to this place to sell slaves can be accommodated, and every attention necessary will be given to have them well attended to; and when it may be desired, the reception of the company of gentlemen, dealing in slaves, will conveniently and attentively be received. My situation is very healthy and suitable for the business.

LEWIS A. COLLIER.

April 19.

WHITTIER ON SLAVERY.

Justice and Expediency; or Slavery considered with a view to its Rightful and Effectual Remedy—Abolition: By JOHN G. WHITTIER. Haverhill: C. P. Thayer & Co., 1833, pp. 23.

It is one of the most gratifying signs of the times, that publications are every day appearing both in Great Britain and this country, in which slavery is placed in a just light, its moral and political evils fearlessly denounced, and the means for its removal distinctly pointed out. Mr. Whittier's pamphlet is of this character. The author, after showing the inefficiency of various modes which have been proposed for abolishing slavery, particularly colonization, devotes the greater part of work

to advocating immediate abolition. He does this with great warmth and eloquence. His arguments are sound, well arranged, and tersely expressed. Every part of his pamphlet exhibits high moral principle and strong moral feeling. As we think the work is calculated to do good, we hope it will receive an extensive circulation.

WRIGHT'S SIN OF SLAVERY.

The Sin of Slavery, and its Remedy; containing some Reflections on the Moral Influence of African Colonization: By ELIZUR WRIGHT, JR., Professor of Math. and Nat. Phil. Western Reserve College. New-York: Printed for the Author. 8 vo. pp. 52.

We did not receive this pamphlet till the day of our publication had so nearly arrived as to render an extended notice of it impossible. Such of our readers as are familiar with the author's writings on the subject of slavery, will need no commendation from us to induce them to peruse it. We trust to be able to give a more full notice of it next month.

NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETIES.

At a meeting of the friends of Abolition in Providence, R. I., a Society was organized and the following gentlemen unanimously elected as officers:

JOSIAH CADY, *President.*

RAY POTTER, *Vice-President.*

THOMAS WILLIAMS, *Cor. Secretary.*

HENRY E. BENSON, *Recording Secretary.*

JOHN PRENTICE, *Treasurer.*

Counsellors—Gilbert Richmond, Jas. Scott, Willis Ames, Wilbour Tillinghast, John Viall.

We have heard of the formation of an Anti-Slavery Society in New-Haven, but have not received the names of the officers.

CONVENTION OF PEOPLE OF COLOR.

The Annual Convention of the people of color was held in Philadelphia last month. There were 56 delegates present from the following places.

NEW-YORK. City of N. Y. 5; Brooklyn, L. I. 2; Poughkeepsie 2; Newburg 2; Catskill 1; Troy 1; Newtown, L. I. 1.

CONNECTICUT. Hartford 1; New-Haven 1.

RHODE ISLAND. Providence 1.

MASSACHUSETTS. Boston 3; New-Bedford 1.

MARYLAND. Baltimore 1.

DELAWARE. Wilmington 1.

PENNSYLVANIA. Philadelphia 5; Westchester 5; Carlisle 4; Harrisburg 2; Pittsburgh —.

NEW-JERSEY. Gloucester Co. 5; Trenton 2; Burlington 2; Newark 1.

The Convention was organized by the choice of the following officers:

Mr ABRAHAM D. SHADD, of Pennsylvania, President; RICHARD JOHNSON, of Massachusetts, 1st Vice do.; John G. Stewart, of Albany, 2d Vice do.; Ransom F. Wake, of New-York, Secretary; Henry Ogden, of Newark, N. Y. Assist. Secretary.

From the Liberator,

AN APPEAL FOR THE OPPRESSED.

Daughters of the Pilgrim Sires,
Dwellers by their mouldering graves,
Watchers of their altar fires,
Look upon your country's slaves.

Look! 'tis woman's streaming eye,
These are woman's fetter'd hands,
That to you, so mournfully,
Lift sad glance, and iron bands.

Mute, yet strong appeal of wo!
Wakes it not your starting tears?
Though your hearts may never know
Half the bitter doom of hers.

Scars are on her fettered limbs,
Where the savage scourge has been;
But the grief her eye that dims,
Flows for deeper wounds within.

For the children of her love,
For the brothers of her race,
Sisters, like vine-branches wove,
In one early dwelling place—

For the parent forms that hung
Fondly o'er her infant sleep,
And for him to whom she clung,
With affection true and deep—

By her sad forsaken hearth,
"Tis for these she wildly grieves!
Now all scatter'd o'er the earth,
Like the wind-strewn autumn leaves!

Ev'n her babes so dear, so young,
And so treasured in her heart,
That the chords which round them clung,
Seem'd its life, its dearest part—

These, ev'n these were torn away!
These, that when all else was gone,
Cheer'd her heart with one bright ray,
That still bade its pulse beat on!

Then to still her frantic wo,
The inhuman scourge was tried,
Till the tears that ceased to flow,
Were with redder drops supplied.

And can you behold unmoved,
All the crushing weight of grief,
That her aching heart has provea,
Seeking not to yield relief?

Are not woman's pulses warm,
Beating in that anguish'd breast?
Is it not a sister's form,
On whose limbs those fitters rest?

Oh then save her from a doom,
Worse then aught that ye may bear;
Let her pass not to the tomb,
Midst her bondage and despair.

GERTRUDE.

[From the Sabbath School Visiter.]
VERSIFICATION OF A RECENT ANECDOTE.

A TAWNY slave whom grace had changed,
Was asked, with scornful voice,
'In what religion did consist,
And why he should rejoice?'

'Massa,' he cried with simple tone,
'In my poor way I'll tell,
'T is only ceasing to do wrong,
And learning to do well.*'

* And when poor black man feels his heart
Filled with the love of God,
He can rejoice, give thanks, and sing;†
Though smarting with the rod.

* Isaiah, i. 16, 17.

† Acts, xvi. 25.